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TOWN MEETING



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"TOWN MEETING: A 20-YEAR CAVALCADE"

John Daly, Narrator

George V. Denny, Jr.
Hugo L. Black
William H. King
Robert H. Jackson
Wendell Willkie
Harold L. Ickes
Hugh S. Johnson
Frank E. Gannett
Jan Masaryk
Dean Acheson
Verne Marshall
Norman Thomas
John J. Sparkman
Edward R. Burke
Tom Connally
Raymond Swing
H. V. Kaltenborn
Trygve Lie
Adlai Stevenson

David Lawrence
Fiorello LaGuardia
Jawaharlal Nehru
William F. Knowland
Richard M. Nixon
Dr. You Chan Yang
Thomas E. Dewey
Oscar L. Chapman
Robert A. Taft
Joseph R. McCarthy
Ellis Arnall
Godfrey P. Schmidt
Walter White
Fr. Edward J. Flanagan
John Mason Brown
Al Capp
Arnold J. Toynbee
Billy Graham
Joshua Loth Liebman



A Repeat Broadcast of
Town Meeting's Twentieth
Anniversary Program

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast Sundays, ABC Network, 8 to 9 p.m., Eastern Time

"TOWN MEETING: A 20-YEAR CAVALCADE"

MILTON CROSS: During the next sixty minutes, you will re-live two decades of history. You will hear the voices of eminent statesmen and political figures, many of whom have passed from the American scene. In the words of wise men, of angry men, of men whose destinies have been fulfilled, you will hear of events long since forgotten in the tumult over more timely and immediate crises. As TOWN MEETING looks back upon twenty years, you will recall with us the early days of the New Deal..... the gathering of storm clouds over Europe.....the strong convictions of the interventionist and the isolationist.....the birth of the United Nations.....the hopes for peace shattered by war and unrest. This is the story of our generation -- told in the words of the men who helped to write this history: Harold Ickes! Dean Acheson! Wendell Willkie! Norman Thomas! Adlai Stevenson! Robert A. Taft! Walter White! Jan Masaryk! Trygve Lie! Fiorello LaGuardia! Arnold Toynbee -- and many others.

This is "TOWN MEETING: A 20-YEAR CAVALCADE!"

Your narrator, John Daly.

MR. DALY: The night was May 30, 1935. The place: Town Hall, just off Manhattan's Times Square. On a network of 18 stations -- now grown to 360 -- George V. Denny, Jr., the founder of "America's Town Meeting of the Air," called the audience to order.

MR. DENNY: Friends and neighbors, we are meeting here tonight in the same spirit that prompted our ancestors more than 150 years ago to meet together in the town halls of America to discuss their common ground. Today a marvelous new instrument has been placed in our hands -- the radio. Through it we are able to recapture one of our finest institutions, the Town Meeting. Once confined to purely local matters, it may, by means of the radio, become a national institution -- a Town Meeting of the air!

MR. DALY: So began this pioneer experiment in the use of radio as a sounding board for public opinion. One of the major issues in those early days of Town Meeting was President Roosevelt's proposal to increase the number of Justices on the Supreme Court to fifteen. Speaking for the President's plan was an Alabama senator who, himself, later on was to become a member of the high court -- Hugo L. Black.

MR. BLACK: This power to determine the number of federal judges which is a part of the Constitution itself is the one single power which President Roosevelt has recently asked the Congress to use in order to serve the public good. Those who attack the President of the United States for suggesting the use of this power given by the Constitution are thereby attacking the wisdom, the integrity, or the patriotism of our Founding Fathers who wrote and who established the Constitution itself. Those who charge that it is wrong to use this power in 1937 cannot escape the responsibility for charging a lack of patriotism to those who gave that power in 1787.

MR. DALY: Arguing against the Court reorganization -- later defeated by the Senate -- was William H. King, Republican Senator of Utah.

SEN. KING: I do not agree with many of the observations which have just been made by my distinguished friend, Senator Black. The present members of the Court have proven themselves to be men of character and faithful public servants. They have discharged the duties devolving upon them with courage and marked ability. To mutilate or emasculate the court, in my opinion, cannot be justified.

MR. DALY: This was the era of the New Deal with its inherent struggle between government and business. In January, 1938, trust-busting Assistant Attorney General Robert H. Jackson shared the Town Meeting platform with a man who was destined to be a Republican candidate for President of the United States. This was Wendell Willkie's first nationwide broadcast. Mr. Jackson spoke first.

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MR. JACKSON: The greatest difference between the man I meet in government and the man I meet in business is this: The man who is in government looks at society, if he does his duty, as a whole mechanism rather than specializing the interest of a single business. The private business man, on the other hand, up to now has been intensely preoccupied with a very narrow sector of the world. My little contribution is to suggest this program of high volume, low price industrial economy, which will sustain a high wage scale -- which, in turn, will support a high standard of living. Regardless of any consequences, I am ready to go down the line to cooperate with anyone to foster this kind of American life.

MR. DALY: Little dreaming that two years hence he would run for the Presidency, Wendell Willkie pleaded for harmony between government and business.

MR. WILLKIE: In such a time as this when we see the relief rolls lengthening again and the price of farm products declining, when many of us are discouraged, surely government and business should put an end to the bitterness of recent years, at this critical point in our nation's history. It should seem fitting that business and government should bear in mind the warning which Abraham Lincoln gave to the two factions into which this country was dividing at the time of his first inaugural address. "I am loathe to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies."

MR. DALY: Then came the audience questions.

MAN: Mr. Willkie, what accounts for the Canadian electric rates being so much less than the rates of the utility companies on this side of the Niagara?

MR. WILLKIE: I was just hoping somebody would ask me that question. The difference is that the American utility companies are now paying up to 20 per cent of their gross revenues in taxes, while the public plants in Canada pay no taxes except a minor amount of tax on real estate.

MR. DALY: Town Meeting in the late thirties brought to its microphone one of the most colorful personalities of all time -- sharp-tongued Harold Ickes, FDR's Secretary of the Interior. On an evening in October, 1939, the 'old curmudgeon' traded good-natured insults with equally expressive General Hugh S. Johnson.

MR. ICKES: I am glad to share the platform tonight with General Johnson. Despite an occasional verbal duel, we are warm personal friends. Once he wrote a column explaining that he had deep affection for some of those whom he chastised. I was on that honor roll. If his love is to be measured by the frequency and severity of his chastisement, then indeed I stand high in his regard. I am fond of "Old Iron-pants." I fancy the vigor of his expressions and relish the savor of his phrases. I like him particularly because, although he is a hard fighter, always charging bravely, although sometimes simultaneously in all directions, he is a fair one. He does not hit below the belt. He can be, I am bound to say, generous in his attitude even if he is cockeyed as to many of his ideas. I do not think that the Administration, as the price of service that every patriotic citizen owes his country, especially at a time like this, should be asked to yield the hard-won gains of the last six years for the people. This may be no time to inaugurate major new reforms, but certainly in the devising of plans admittedly necessary to meet the present emergency, it should not be expected that the Administration should ignore its own experience and scrap the agencies that it has created.

MR. DALY: Harold Ickes sat down. To the rostrum came former NRA Administrator, General Hugh S. Johnson.

GEN. JOHNSON: Ladies and Gentlemen, and my dear Mr. Secretary. Harold, I'm afraid we're going to disappoint the customers. This sounds more like a necking party than a scrap or even a debate. It doesn't live up to our reputation, because, as you know, I sincerely reciprocate your kindly sentiments and our mutual affections. But let's see what we can do to keep the crowd from singing "Waltz Me Around Willie," and the referee calling it "no contest." To defend a thing, we must know what it is and what threatens it. What is "democracy?" I fear Harold thinks democracy is anything that Tommy Corcoran says it is. I think one of the greatest dangers to democracy of all, short of war itself, is the granting of temporary extraordinary powers

inconsistent with democracy to permanent bureaus of government. I think so because the very granting of those powers helps to perpetuate these powers and to perpetuate the individuals who hold them. For you can write it in your book that if enough of these powers are granted to permanent departments of government, we may have Mr. Roosevelt and my gracious opponent in office from now on, until death do us part.

MR. DALY: Harold Ickes was a frequent visitor to Town Hall. Well-remembered is his debate with publisher Frank E. Gannett on the question: "Do We Have a Free Press?"

MR. ICKES: Mr. Gannett ranks above the average among American publishers. Therefore, if it can be shown that freedom of the press does not exist for the Gannett Newspapers, any conclusions drawn from that fact may fairly be applied to the American press generally. This is how the American press uses the freedom which is guaranteed to it by the Constitution. General Motors may state its case. Union bakers may not. But if you should ask the publishers of American newspapers whether distortion or suppression occurs, or whether headlines reflect bias, with honorable exception they would answer "Oh, no! No, indeed."

MR. DALY: A leading Republican and foe of the New Deal, publisher Gannett defended the Fourth Estate.

MR. GANNETT: What does all this hue and cry against the press mean? Why does Mr. Ickes come from Washington and stand here tonight denouncing America's press as unfair and unfree? I will tell you why. It is because when President Roosevelt tried to break down the American Constitution by packing the Supreme Court -- please let me have the time, please let me have it -- by packing the Supreme Court and reducing it to a "Yes" court, the press stood up and fought honestly and courageously in editorials against the one-man rule embodied in the iniquitous Court Bill -- and they helped to defeat it.

MR. DALY: Domestic issues drew the fire of debate -- but then a dark cloud loomed over the horizon. The sound of the goose step on the cobble stone streets of Europe grew louder and more foreboding. Neville Chamberlain returned to London from Munich with 'Peace in our Time' -- and Nazi troops entered Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland, and then Prague. Jan Masaryk, an ardent Czech democrat, told a Town Meeting audience:

MR. MASARYK: I am of the opinion that a general conference, including Russia, could help. Whatever we may think of the regime in Russia -- and I am not a protagonist, it is a great, rich empire -- and it simply is not intelligent to disregard it. We all read the other day that a German delegation has gone to Moscow. Well, if Nazi Germany finds it compatible with its philosophy to negotiate with Russia, I see no reason whatsoever why all the rest of us shouldn't do the same thing.

MR. DALY: Jan Masaryk later attempted to serve his beloved Czechoslovakia -- by then under Communist domination. The Communist powers with whom he would have negotiated brought his death -- announced as suicide. One by one, the lights went out in Europe. But, was this 'our' war? We were hearing from isolationists on one side, from interventionists on the other. Remember 'America First'? Town Meeting posed the question: "Is a Hitler Defeat Essential to the United States?" Speaking for the affirmative was a Washington lawyer, later to rise to the position of Secretary of State. Dean Acheson was little known to the nation on that night in January, 1941, when he said:

MR. ACHESON: A victory for Hitler would mean that Hitler would absorb his feeble ally Mussolini and with Japan would control Europe and Africa and Asia. A victorious Axis would have unlimited military and air power. Most important of all, we should be faced with a world holding and spreading by insidious propaganda a fanatical faith that the moral and ethical foundations of our life is nonsense. For us, this would be a world whose faith we would and should believe was the doctrine of hell. It is essential to the United States that the possibility of such a future be prevented by the only sure prevention -- a Hitler defeat. It can and will be done, and to achieve it -- may I say again, it can and will be done and to achieve it should be the cornerstone of American policy.

MR. DALY: Challenging Dean Acheson was a newspaperman from Cedar Rapids, Iowa -- Chairman of the 'No Foreign War' Committee, Verne Marshall.

MR. MARSHALL: Permit me to say that the one immediate need is for us Americans to insure that our country is not wrecked by involvement in this same ole European economic, political and ideological -- not democratic war. It is to instruct the Congress to take our orders to that effect -- "Keep out of this war!" Let me assure you that the No Foreign War Committee has but two objectives. They are: one, keep the United States out of foreign wars and all kindred evils; two, prevent the Roosevelt Administration from giving away our national defense at the very moment when the President assures us we face our gravest danger since Jamestown.

MR. DALY: But, could we remain on the sidelines? President Roosevelt's lend-lease plan to aid Great Britain was opposed in debate by Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party.

MR. THOMAS: What we are discussing tonight is not the wickedness of Hitler, not the importance of defending our shores and homes. It is a bill which states that its intention is -- I quote -- to further promote the defense of the United States and for other purposes. The other purposes are to set up a dictatorship in the United States, and to authorize the dictator to wage undeclared war with whatever allies he chooses and against whatever enemy he selects. It is beside the point to say that Mr. Roosevelt would not do the worst of these things, or that the bill can be made a little less monstrous, as Mr. Willkie has suggested. When the President and Mr. Willkie were vying for a popular mandate, they never hinted at such power as the President now asks, with Mr. Willkie's endorsement. They waited until it was too late for the people to speak at the polls. For this line of action there is no justification in the external situation.

MR. DALY: Then came a dramatic moment in Town Hall. Wendell Willkie, who had campaigned the year before on an isolationist platform, was in the audience and was invited to reply to Mr. Thomas.

MR. WILLKIE: If I believed that Britain could collapse and America could survive, then I would not take a single risk in involving this country in any international entanglements. But if, on the other hand, I believed as I do believe, that if Britain collapses, within a few years the free way of life will pass from America -- then, even I, who opposed the election of Franklin Roosevelt with all the resources of my being, would grant to him such extraordinary powers. We shall not keep America out of war by mere strong statements that she is to stay out of war. We will keep America out of war if we supply to the fighting men of Britain sufficient resources so they crush and defeat the ruthless dictatorship of Hitler. We shall not preserve this great standard of living in America by withdrawing within ourselves; and I, who opposed Franklin Roosevelt -- I call upon all Americans to give him such power in this most severe crisis, I believe, in the history of America, so that he may save America -- so that we can debate with him again in another election.

MR. DALY: Eleven months later came Pearl Harbor and political adversaries personally were united with but one objective: victory over the forces of tyranny and aggression. But, even in wartime, politics had no extended holiday. 1944 brought a Presidential election and the question of a fourth term. Democratic Congressman John Sparkman of Alabama supported the reelection of Franklin Roosevelt.

MR. SPARKMAN: If we should change Presidents now -- just when we're getting ready for the final punch in this global war -- such action, regardless of our real motive, would inevitably be interpreted among the nations of the world as a repudiation of President Roosevelt's leadership. This is not an honor that we seek to bestow on Mr. Roosevelt. It is a job -- a terrible, life-taking job -- but one that America in danger demands in the interest of her national security.

MR. DALY: Republican Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska voiced vigorous opposition.

SEN. BURKE: A fourth term for President Roosevelt, Congressman Sparkman? No, indeed! Now let me say to you, we do not need a fourth term to present a united

front for complete victory and a sound program of international cooperation to prevent future wars. We cannot have a fourth term without placing in jeopardy fundamental democratic principles.

MR. DALY: It was ironic that John Sparkman has used the words 'life-taking job.' One year later, almost to the day, Franklin D. Roosevelt was at peace -- lost to the nation on the eve of victory in Europe. Soon, too, was the world to be at peace -- at least for a little while. Town Meeting was at San Francisco in April, 1945, when the anti-axis powers assembled in conference to form a world security organization to be known as the United Nations. Senator Tom Connally of Texas set the stage for the discussion.

SEN. CONNALLY: Our task at San Francisco is to combine might and right by erecting an international organization of both the great and small states endowed with sufficient power to take whatever action may be necessary in order to maintain peace and security among the nations.

MR. DALY: Prophetic, indeed, were these words of commentator Raymond Swing.

MR. SWING: When this war ends, we shall emerge into a world utterly novel as to the concentration of power. There will be only two very great powers -- the United States and the Soviet Union. Great Britain, with a navy half the size of our own, will rank way behind. If the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain obey the law, they will do so voluntarily -- for there's no power on earth to compel them. They have agreed to do it voluntarily and if they do not, we're headed for evil times indeed, and the San Francisco charter will go down the drain. I hope nobody is going to predict tonight that this is what will happen. If so, he will be predicting World War III and making himself the spokesman for the bankruptcy of human sanity and the termination of the instinct of self-preservation. In the world of concentrated power, the first essential to peace obviously must be cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. That outranks the San Francisco charter.

MR. DALY: Meaningful, too, in retrospect, are these comments of Ray Swing's colleague, H. V. Kaltenborn, speaking on that historic San Francisco broadcast -- April 26, 1945.

MR. KALTENBORN: Everybody is for peace until it begins to cost something. Forgive me if I appear cynical -- I do not mean to be. No one has greater faith than I have in the success of the San Francisco meeting. I know that it will make a contribution to peace. But it will only be a beginning -- not an end. It is a promise -- not a deed. It is a declaration of good intentions whose true value we cannot know until 20 years have passed.

MR. DALY: The effectiveness of the United Nations has been the subject of much debate in the intervening years. Just a few months ago, former UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie said to Town Meeting listeners:

MR. LIE: We are living in the same world as the Communists. We can't get away from them. They are here. The distances between them and us are shorter every day. Every technical development: speed, planes which can carry heavier burdens than anytime before, bigger bombs, and so on. We are there and there is no way out of it. We have to negotiate -- the same about our beliefs, whether we trust them or not. We have to have them here and I feel always much safer having them around a table discussing with them all the problems -- than having them on the other side of a borderline starting shooting.

MR. DALY: It was in the early days of the UN -- in November, 1946, that Town Meeting brought to its audience a voice that, in subsequent years, was to become more familiar on the American scene. Sharing the platform with Australia's Ambassador Makin -- discussing the UN veto -- was an alternate delegate to the General Assembly, introduced as a Chicago attorney and former special assistant to the Secretaries of War and Navy. We now know his voice well.

MR. STEVENSON: You know that in these international conferences we never refer to each other as Mister or as Ambassador. We always refer to each other as "distinguished colleague." Now, my distinguished colleague, Ambassador Makin, is

also my very good friend, with whom I have worked over a period of time, and I'm happy to be able to reassure my audience this evening that this is almost the first time; indeed, I will say it's the first time that he's ever been wrong. First, let me make one thing absolutely clear. The veto itself is not the basic cause of our difficulties. It is only a reflection of the unfortunate and deep-seated differences with the Russians. If we are to escape from the atmosphere of crisis that surrounds our international relations, we must settle these differences. Merely changing the voting formula will never be enough.

MR. DALY: More -- much more -- was to be heard from Adlai E. Stevenson -- and he was on Town Meeting again as recently as February, 1954; but, this time it was an unscheduled appearance. It happened in the audience question period.

GOV. STEVENSON: My name is Adlai Stevenson and by way of identification, I'm unemployed -- or rather, undercompensated. I should just like to ask Mayor Lawrence of Pittsburgh if he doesn't think, in view of the title of this discussion "Do Our States Dominate Our Cities?" that the answer is that cities with Democratic mayors ought to dominate states with Republican governors?

MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, as one of those who was for Stevenson before Chicago, I want to say to you that you always come up with the right formula.

MR. DALY: With the end of World War II, both the victorious and the vanquished nations were confronted with tremendous problems -- many of which today remain unsolved. For one, millions of people in the world still are hungry. New York's fiery, yet much beloved, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia told listeners of his responsibilities as director of a new agency, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -- UNRRA.

MR. LaGUARDIA: You see, this is all so new to me. I can't stop to analyze. I can't stop to look backward. I must look at today -- forward. I can't fight with people. I must plead now. But, if anyone holds back and there's fighting to do, I'll do it. Time does not permit me to give you the terrifying and horrible statistics of hardship at this very moment. Oh, it's a heart-breaking job. There just isn't enough food in the world today. We have to distribute it. There will not be enough for everybody. There will not be sufficient to satisfy anybody, but I shall insist that the helpless, the weak, these suffering hungry millions get a fair share of the available supply.

MR. DALY: In the face of heart-breaking tasks, the Little Flower never lost the warm sense of humor that endeared him to millions.

LADY: My name is Adelaide Hunt. My question is to Mr. LaGuardia. I want to ask you if you will ask the housewives of America to stop making a two-crust pie and to make a pie the way the English women make them.

MR. LaGUARDIA: I now formally ask the housewives of America -- please, please don't make two-crust pies. I promise I'll talk to Paul Porter, the OPA Administrator, and I'll see that he puts a low-ceiling price on a smaller girdle.

MR. DALY: There were doubts even then, in the immediate post-war years, as to the stability of world peace. There were trouble spots in many areas of the globe when Town Meeting embarked on its unprecedented world tour in 1949. Accompanied by 28 representative Americans, the program visited twelve capital cities from London to Tokyo. Most memorable in that series, and perhaps the most significant today, was the statement of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, speaking on Town Meeting from New Delhi.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU: I was to extend my greetings to you, members of the Town Meeting of the Air, and to welcome you to this ancient city of Delhi, which has experienced many thousands of years of human history. All of us, and more especially we in Asia, are confronted by great and basic problems which demand urgent attention. Essentially these problems are how to raise the living standards and well-being of our masses, how to provide them the primary necessities for a civilized existence. Democracy has to find a solution for these problems -- for they cannot wait for some future date. Our approach, therefore, has to be in terms of what benefits and raises the common man and woman. Therefore, democracy has to extend its scope from the

purely political to other fields so as to find the solution for these vital problems. I commend you to your labors.

MR. DALY: As in a period of ten years before -- when America watched with anxiety the developments on the continent of Europe -- our eyes shifted now to the Far East. At this half-century mark, an island in the Pacific was claiming page one headlines. Formosa was a controversial hot spot. California's Senator William F. Knowland summarized his stand on Formosan defense.

SEN. KNOWLAND: Because a free China existing on the Island of Formosa is important to the ultimate freedom of all China, because the conquest of Formosa by communism would have a disastrous psychological effect throughout Asia and the world, and because Formosa in the unfriendly hands of international communism would jeopardize our strategic defense position in the Far East and place our defenses in this age of the airplane and the atomic weapon back on the Pacific coast, I believe that it is essential that communism be checked in Formosa. By so doing, we may save not only Asia, but the whole free world.

MR. DALY: Senator Knowland would speak no less strongly tonight. Now, we were again at war -- in Korea. These were the months of the Great Debate. Two other United States Senators, sharing the Town Meeting rostrum in May, 1951, discussed our Far East policies and fifteen months later, these same two men were to become rival candidates for the Vice Presidency. First, Senator Richard M. Nixon.

SEN. NIXON: There has been too much talk of the relative merits of MacArthur and Truman, of the differences between Democrats and Republicans, of the possible conflicts between the policy of the United States and the other United Nations, and not enough emphasis on the real problem. General MacArthur was fired because he suggested steps which he said could and should be taken to bring military victory on the battlefield. But Secretary Acheson and the Administration, in opposing the steps General MacArthur recommends, have consistently failed to offer any alternative program of their own.

MR. DALY: With another view: Senator John Sparkman:

SEN. SPARKMAN: First, let me answer the question that was proposed in the beginning, "Why did the President fire General MacArthur?" Now, the President did not fire General MacArthur because he suggested a plan. The reason General MacArthur was fired was this: Under our setup, we have a Joint Chiefs of Staff whose job it is to plan strategy and to plan our military operations. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff did make their plans, and General MacArthur was not willing to fall in line with those plans and those orders that were given to him by our Joint Chiefs of Staff. And that is the reason the President felt that there was no other alternative except to relieve General MacArthur from his command.

MR. DALY: The war in Korea dragged on and finally was ended. No more stirring moment occurred in all of Town Meeting's twenty years than the night in 1953 when South Korea's Ambassador, Dr. You Chan Yang, expressed his own hopes -- and fears.

DR. YANG: When your forefathers were facing against all odds -- against that great, most powerful country in the world that was England -- did they ever draw back? Did they say, we cannot face them and fight them? They loved liberty and freedom and the decency of life. So they fought and they won -- and our people want to fight until their country is reunited so that they can live too as free men and free women and enjoy the dignity of man.

MR. DALY: Thomas E. Dewey, appearing on Town Meeting shortly after his return from the Far East in 1952, summarized his impressions with these words.

MR. DEWEY: You can't keep a free world if you only keep pieces of it. The great crisis in this world is whether it's going to be strong enough so that the Soviet Union can be stopped from getting a good bite per annum. I want most desperately for the sake of keeping this country alive and free -- which is the most important thing in the world -- to avoid World War III by having enough strength on our side so that it won't happen, because dictators don't usually start wars they expect to lose, and I want to be so strong that Stalin or his successor will not start a war he can lose. One of the ways is to keep that 300 million people on our side.

MR. DALY: War and threats of war across the Pacific -- and, at home -- legislation for social welfare! In the thirties, we called it the New Deal. In the forties, it was known as the Welfare State. An eloquent spokesman for the Democratic administrations of Roosevelt and Truman, former Interior Secretary Oscar L. Chapman stated the case for his party.

MR. CHAPMAN: The complexity of modern society and the growing dependency of the individual upon society has necessarily increased the need to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty. During the last 16 years, the Federal Government has attempted to meet that need. Through the Wagner Labor Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, we have attempted to secure the worker against the exploitation of employers, and through the Social Security Act, we have attempted to secure our people against temporary unemployment and insecurity in old age. Through housing legislation, we have attempted to provide low-income families with decent housing. And through numerous other measures we have attempted to assure for the majority of the people a fair share in the economic output and wealth of this nation.

MR. DALY: A staunch defender of the free enterprise system, the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio disagreed with Mr. Chapman.

SEN. TAFT: If we permit the government -- particularly the Federal Government -- to take over all welfare services, furnish them free to all the people of this country, we will destroy the personal liberty of those people. If we adopt a national system by which, at a huge cost, the government attempts to give free medical service to all the people; if we adopt a system in which they give free housing to practically all the people, then that will defeat our own purpose and will limit the people's ability to spend the money which they earn by the sweat of their brow -- because the government will insist that you give all of your money, finally, to the government and permit the government to decide what services and what things you shall get for your money.

MR. DALY: With the increasing threat of Communism abroad, real concern developed here at home over possible infiltration -- and with it, a name came across the American political horizon which was to provoke one of the great controversies in our history. In April, 1947, on the stage of the Civic Opera House in Chicago, Town Meeting debated the question: "Should the Communist Party Be Outlawed?" One of the speakers was a newly-elected Senator from Wisconsin.

SEN. MCCARTHY: I realize full well that merely outlawing the Communist Party and wiping the name "Communist" from the ballot is but one of the many actions to be taken. The Department of Justice should rule that the Communist Party is an agency of a foreign power and subject to the Voorhis Act and the Logan Act which laws concern themselves with conspiracy against the nation and action on the part of foreign agents. The FBI should be empowered and directed to publish the names of all the Communist front organizations.

MR. DALY: Senator McCarthy was answered by Georgia's former Governor Ellis Arnall.

GOV. ARNALL: I desire to point out to the Senator that the fundamental criticism of all totalitarian governments, whether communistic or fascistic, follow a pattern which brings about the destruction of civil liberties and freedom. I would not want us to adopt Hitlerism in this country as a substitute for Jefferson's Bill of Rights. We cannot preserve freedom by wiping out the civil liberties of our people.

MR. DALY: The junior Senator from Wisconsin agreed with Governor Arnall on the dangers of name-calling.

SEN. MCCARTHY: I think a tremendous amount of damage has been done by calling a lot of good, serious liberal 'Communists.' The word "Communism" is such a libelous phrase that I believe it should be reserved only to those who should receive that type of defamation.

MR. DALY: That was in 1947. Three years prior to the Wisconsin Senator's now-famous Wheeling speech, seven years prior to the Army-McCarthy hearings which were debated on a Town Meeting when Attorney Godfrey P. Schmidt had this to say:

MR. SCHMIDT: I think one must, in the first place, distinguish between the written and formal intention which was set forth in the newspapers time and again and to the subjective, but nonetheless real, intention which, as I see it, was an intention on the part of some Republican misguided politicians to get rid of McCarthy. But, I think it's high time that the American public -- and twenty million people availed themselves of the opportunity -- learned that their Congressmen are not paragons of virtue, and they are not all brilliant people. They have the same human failings of the rest of us. And to hold McCarthy to a degree of perfect performance, which you never got from any Congressional committee, is to exact from him a rule of conduct that is unfair and that is exactly what has been done time and again.

MR. DALY: Mr. Schmidt was answered by Norman Thomas.

MR. THOMAS: The intention of the Army-McCarthy hearings was to find out who was lying in serious charges and countercharges. From the beginning, the inquiry was doomed to failure. The Committee was inquiring into its own conduct -- an inherently improper procedure. Its rules were clumsy. Its chairman, amiable but weak. Its chief counsel bumbling. As a show, the performance was often absorbing, but it was drama without a hero; the actors who weren't villains were mostly of dubious competence. The performance distracted public attention from vital issues and presented our government in unattractive light to the peoples of the world. One can imagine a situation in which an employee of the executive, out of sound patriotism, might have no recourse but to go to some Congressional committee. But to admit this does not for an instant justify McCarthy's invitation to insubordination and scandal mongering. This is an invitation to anarchy.

MR. DALY: Town Meeting's twenty years have not entirely been of political and international flavor. On the contrary, many hours have been devoted to social problems and learning to live together. The late Walter White addressed the Town Meeting audience on several occasions, urging tolerance and equal rights for the Negro race.

MR. WHITE: Whether we like it or not, we live in one world. It is a world which has been shrunk to microscopic size by the splitting of the atom. Two-thirds of the people of the earth have dark skins. We worship God in many different ways. Isn't it about time that we grew up by looking beyond a man's religion or color? If we have brains enough to believe and practice the belief that God is the Father of us all, we can hope for peace. The alternative is war and hate and death.

MR. DALY: Throughout the years, juvenile delinquency has been one of the more frequently discussed social problems. In the words of Father Edward J. Flanagan:

FR. FLANAGAN: People everywhere are asking what is wrong with our boys and girls. I would like to tell you what is wrong with our parents and society. The time has come for us to stop acting like the complacent Mr. Dooley who confided that "everybody is queer but me and thee and sometimes I think thee is a little queer." Punishing our boys and girls will not eliminate the cause of their mistakes. A stronger padlock does not make a better boy. Our unfortunate children are spiritually sick. We do not attempt to eliminate yellow fever by pouring kerosene on the victims. We pour it on the water where the mosquito breeds. Let us stop blaming juveniles for their mistakes and put the responsibility where it belongs -- on parents and society.

MR. DALY: On a lighter note, Town Meeting in 1948 turned its attention to another side of social life -- one closely related by many to the problem of delinquency. "What's Wrong with the Comics?" Said author and lecturer John Mason Brown:

MR. BROWN: Anatole France once described even the best books as being the opium of the Occident. Well, most comics, as I see them, are the marijuana of the nursery! They are the bane of the bassinet! They are the horror of the home, the curse of the kids and a threat to the future. The comics offer final and melancholy proof that even among the young, the mind is the most unused muscle in the United States.

MR. DALY: Then, with tongue in cheek, cartoonist Al Capp:

MR. CAPP: This whole thing gives me an idea for own of my own contributions to juvenile delinquency which I call, rather defiantly, my comic strip. The scene is a typical American home of a typical American family named Kinsey, of course. Supper is over and seated in the living room are Mr. and Mrs. Kinsey and their eleven-year old son, Kingsblood. They're discussing what they read in that day's typical American newspaper. Little Kingsblood has gone through all that and, frankly, it bored him. He's reading the one page of the family newspaper where there's real action -- the comic page. Mrs. Kinsey, noticing that little Kingsblood isn't joining in this uplifting discussion of the front page of their family newspaper, glances over his shoulder and screams a typical, horrified, American mother-type scream. "Look," she screams at Mr. Kinsey, "Look what your child is reading. Why, this thing is full of murder, crime, violence, and look, why there's even a boy in it who doesn't think a girl in it is repulsive, so it's full of s-e-x, too!" Mr. Kinsey speaks. He says, "Why do you bother with that old comic page, anyhow, son? Why don't you read the news?" "I did, Pop," replies the lad, "and, oh boy, it's all full of murder, crime, violence and" he winks "s-e-x, too, Pop!"

MR. DALY: As this Town Meeting Cavalcade looks back upon twenty years, we have focused the spotlight of free and unfettered discussion upon a multitude of events. Many of the issues and problems which existed in the beginning remain with us. In some cases, the scene has shifted -- but the basic problem still cries out for solution. The most monumental of all -- peace for mankind. Can we achieve this dream of peace in our lifetime? Where lies our hope? Our courage? Let us turn to Town Meeting guest in other years and hear again their words. The great historian, Arnold J. Toynbee.

DR. TOYNBEE: I would say we cannot foretell. It depends on ourselves -- that is the struggle that is going on -- on the level of international politics, on the level of domestic politics and inside the heart of every one of us; because it's what happens inside each individual that finally determines what happens to the communities and to the whole of society. That's what I meant by saying that we aren't either necessarily doomed or necessarily saved. It's up to us. It depends on ourselves what happens. We have this great responsibility upon us -- especially we in the Western world, and in the Western world perhaps especially the people of the United States who are today the most powerful of all the people of the Western world.

MR. DALY: Billy Graham, January, 1951.

DR. GRAHAM: I sincerely believe if America turned to God at this moment we would have divine intervention on our side in an hour when we are facing what I believe to be a satanic, supernaturally empowered religion in communism. We can never lick communism with flesh and blood and guns and bullets. It's going to take the divine help of Almighty God and that will only come as America turns to God for help through Jesus Christ at this hour.

MR. DALY: The late Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman, January, 1948.

RABBI LIEBMAN: We, today, have healing insights about human nature that no previous generation possessed. We ourselves can become more mature, and thus centers of contagious emotional health for everyone around us. Mastering our own hates and insecurities, learning how to achieve a new confidence about God and man, a new clarity about our ethical obligations to the whole human race and an unshakable resolution not to be stampeded into a third world war. All of us live today -- all nations without exception -- on the same street of atomic destiny. We need not despair when atomic physicists, social scientists and prophetic religion working together can yet open the gates to a new world of light made by men always attempting the impossible and achieving it.

MR. DALY: In this hour, we have heard again some of the memorable moments in Town Meeting's twenty years -- the heat of debate, the light of knowledge..... twenty years dedicated to the advancement of an informed America.



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